

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUCHAREST 4350

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PPMT, SHUM, SOCI, RO
SUBJECT: CEAUSESCU TOURS TRANSYLVANIAN MAGYAR AREAS

1. SUMMARY. MAJOR CEAUSESCU PROVINCIAL TOUR JUNE 20-21 TO FOUR COUNTIES WITH LARGE ETHNIC HUNGARIAN POPULATIONS PROVIDED OPPORTUNITY TO STRESS NATIONAL UNITY THEME TO AN INTERESTED DOMESTIC UTDIENCE. MOSTHDIGNIFSANT ASPECT WAS IMPORTANT SPEECH BY JANOS FAZEKAS, THE SENIOR ETHNIC HUNGARIAN IN RCP LEADERSHIP, WHO SHARPLY REBUTTED WESTERN PRESS ACCOUNTS WHICH HE CLAIMED WERE DESIGNED TO DIVIDE ROMANIANS FROM HUNGARIANS. SINCE HIS NAME WAS PROMINENTLY FEATURED IN THESE ACCOUNTS, HE WAS NATURAL CANDIDATE TO MAKE SUCH A PRESENTATION. END SUMMARY.

2. CEAUSESCU VISITED JUDETE (COUNTIES) OF HARGHITA, MURES, SALAJ, AND SATU MARE, ALL OF WHICH HAVE A SUBSTANTIAL POPULATION OF ETHNIC HUNGARIANS, AND MADE SEVEN SPEECHES IN A MAJOR PROVINCIAL TOUR JUNE 20-21. PROMINENTLY FEATURED MEMBERS OF OFFICIAL PARTY, IN ADDITION TO MRS. CEAUSESCU, WERE PRIME MINISTER MANESCU AND PTW EX CO MEMBER JANOS FAZEKAS WHO IS ALSO THE

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SENIOR ETHNIC HUNGARIAN IN RCP LEADERSHIP. TRIP RECEIVED BLANKET MEDIA COVERAGE AND WAS PUNCTUATED WITH COLORFULLY CLAD LOCAL RESIDENTS IN TRADITIONAL COSTUMES, POETRY READ IN BOTH ROMANIAN AND HUNGARIAN, AND "INSPIRATIONAL" MUSIC STRESSING NATIONAL UNITY THEME. LARGE CROWDS WERE ASSEMBLED ON ALL STOPS, AND PLACARDS IN BOTH ROMANIAN AND HUNGARIAN WERE EVIDENT.

3. MOST INTERESTING SPEECH, HOWEVER, WAS MADE BY FAZEKAS AT STOP IN HEAVILY SZEKLER ODORHEIU SECUIESC (HARGITA COUNTY) JUNE 20. WE CAN RECALL NO PREVIOUS INSTANCE OF A PROVINCIAL SWING IN WHICH A SECONDARY PARTY LEADER GAVE A MAJOR SPEECH ON A PODIUM SHARED WITH CEAUSESCU. PRESIDENT USUALLY PREFERS TO BE EXCLUSIVE FOCUS OF ATTENTION, AND OTHER SENIOR OFFICIALS STAY DISCREETLY IN BACKGROUND AND DO NOT SPEAK. FAZEKAS NOT ONLY SPOKE, HOWEVER, BUT HIS REMARKS RECEIVED SEPARATE AND FAIRLY PROMINENT ATTENTION IN OFFICIAL RCP DAILY SCIENTEIA.

4. STARTING FROM PREMISE THAT ROMANIA IS HOME FOR THE "MAGYARS FROM THE SZEKLER ZONE", FAZEKAS STATED HE FELT COMPELLED TO UNDERLINE THIS POINT TO REBUT WEST EUROPEAN PRESS REPORTS WHICH, "IN RESPONSE TO NATIONALIST CHAUVINISM", ATTEMPT TO DISCREDIT GOR POLICIES TOWARD MINORITIES AND SOW DISSENSION BETWEEN ROMANIANS AND MAGYARS BY ALLEGING A "FORCED ROMANIANIZATION" OF ETHNIC HUNGARIANS LIVING HERE. SUCH ATTEMPTS TO WEAKEN THE UNITY OF ALL CITIZENS AROUND RCP AND TO SPLIT ROMANIANS AND HUNGARIANS ARE "DOOMED TO FAILURE" SINCE "THE ROMANIAN SOCIALIST REPUBLIC IS OUR COMMON CREATION." CONTRARY TO WHAT SOME MAGYAR AND ROMANIAN HISTORIANS HAVE "MUCH TOO OFTEN" WRITTEN, ROMANIANS AND MAGYARS HAVE LIVED AND WORKED TOGETHER AS BROTHERS AND HAVE JOINTLY STRUGGLED AGAINST COMMON ENEMIES. TODAY, ETHNIC MAGYARS FULLY SUPPORT RCP/GOR FOREIGN POLICY
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WITH NEIGHBORING STATES OF BULGARIA, YUGOSLAVIA, HUNGARY, AND USSR.

5. ON INTERNAL SCENE, DECISION OF SOME YEARS AGO TO DIS-
TRIBUTE NEW INDUSTRIES AMONG ALL AREAS OF ROMANIA, WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON MOST UNDERDEVELOPED AREAS (COMMENT: OF WHICH SZEKLER REGION IS CLASSIC EXAMPLE) IS RESPONSIVE TO LONGSTANDING SZEKLER CRAVING TO LIVE AND WORK IN AREA OF THEIR BIRTH INSTEAD OF BEING FORCED TO EMIGRATE FOR ECONOMIC REASONS AS HAPPENED PREVIOUSLY. EXPANDED "SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY" HAS LED TO CONSCIOUS PARTY POLICY OF ATTEMPTING TO PLACE MINORITY REPRESENTATIVES IN AGN IMPORTANT PARTY AND STATE ORGANIZATIONS. AND IN SPITE OF ALLEGED "HOMOGENIZATION" PROCESS, 1977 CENSUS IN WHICH OVER 1.7 MILLION PERSONS VOLUNTARILY DECLARED THEMSELVES TO BE ETHNIC MAGYARS CLEARLY DEMONSTRATES THAT "FULL INTEGRATION OF ALL PERSONS INTO NATIONAL LIFE DOES NOT MEAN A LOSS OF ETHNIC IDENTITY." SIMILARLY, FACT THAT CHILDREN ENROLLED IN HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE SCHOOLS ALSO LEARN ROMANIAN NO MORE "DE-ETHNICIZES THEM THAN LEARNING A WORLD LANGUAGE DOES. ADMITTEDLY, FAZEKAS CONCLUDED, THERE HAVE

BEEN "LAPSES AND MISTAKES" IN THE PAST--IN INDUSTRIALIZATION
POLICY, EDUCATION, AND ASSIGNMENT OF ETHNIC MAGYAR CADRES--
BUT THESE HAVE NOW BEEN ELIMINATED; PARTY POLICY AS ENUNCIATED
BY CEAUSESCU CONSTITUTES "SURE GUARANTEE THAT WE OURSELVES,
WORKING TOGETHER, WILL OVERCOME ANY PROBLEMS WHICH
MAY ARISE IN THIS FIELD."

6. CEAUSESCU WAS MUCH LESS SPECIFIC, PREFERRING TO STRESS
GENERAL THEME OF NATIONAL UNITY. AT SEVERAL STOPS HE
REPEATED NOW-STANDARD FORMULATION THAT, NO MATTER WHAT ONE'S
NATIVE LANGUAGE IS, ALL CITIZENS MUST SPEAK THE LANGUAGE
OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM COUPLED WITH MODERN SCIENCE
AND TECHNOLOGY. HE ALSO EMPHASIZED FAZEKAS' POINT THAT
"ONLY BY WORKING TOGETHER WILL WE BE ABLE TO OVERCOME
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DIFFICULTIES ON THE ROAD TO A SOCIALIST SOCIETY." HE
ENDED SPEECH IN TIRGU MURES (MAROSZASARHELY), RECENT
RESIDENCE OF KAROL KIRALY AND SCENE OF SOME EFFERVESCENCE
AMONG MAGYAR MINORITY, WITH PHRASE IN HUNGARIAN TRANSLATING
AS "LONG LIVE THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY." CEAUSESCU

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BUCHAREST 4350

ALSO MADE POINT OF STOPPING IN SIGHISOARA (SCHAESSBURG)
A TRADITIONAL SAXON TOWN, SO HE COULD INCLUDE ETHNIC
GERMANS AMONG MINORITIES ALL OF WHICH ARE ALLEGEDLY WORK-

ING TOGETHER FOR A BETTER AND BRIGHTER FUTURE FOR ROMANIA.

7. COMMENT: FAZEKAS WAS CITED IN VIENNA DIE PRESSE AND OTHER WESTERN MEDIA IN LATE APRIL AS ONE OF THREE PROMINENT ETHNIC HUNGARIANS IN ROMANIA WHO HAD SENT LETTERS TO CEAUSESCU URGING IMPROVEMENT IN SITUATION OF ROMANIA'S HUNGARIAN MINORITY (VIENNA 4024). HIS UNWANTED PUBLICIEKY MADE HIM A NATURAL CANDIDATE TO PRESENT HARD-HITTING PUBLIC REAFFIRMATION OF GOR MINORITIES POLICY. INTERESTINGLY, HE DOES NOT DENY WRITING SUCH A LETTER OR LETTERS TO CEAUSESCU ALTHOUGH IN FRAMEWORK OF HIS SPEECH HE EASILY COULD HAVE DONE SO. NOR DOES HE (OR CEAUSESCU) CRITICIZE "BUDAPEST CIRCLES" WHICH IN ROMANIAN MINDS ARE CLEARLY TRYING TO AGITATE THE MINORITIES ISSUEHRQD WHICH HAVE BEEN RECENTLY CONDEMNED BY NAME BY ROMANIAN POLEMICISTS (E.G. BUCHAREST 3251). DESPITE DISCLAIMER, HIS ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF PAST MISTAKES CAN BE READ AS IMPLYING THAT ALL IS NOT PERFECT AT PRESENT.

8. CEAUSESCU REITERATED SOME OF SAME THEMES WHICH WERE
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MORE EXPLICITLY STATED IN HIS JUNE 10 130/30 ANNIVERSARY SPEECH (BUCHAREST 4056). POINT IS, HOWEVER, HIS TARGET AUDIENCE THEN WAS MAINLY EXTERNAL WHILE THIS TIME IT WAS INTERNAL. BASIC MESSAGE TO BOTH, HOWEVER, IS THAT ROMANIA WILL CONTINUE TO WORK OUT ITS OWN INTERNAL PROBLEMS IN THIS AREA IN ITS OWN WAY, AND WITH NO OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE FROM ANY OTHER SOURCE.

9. FINALLY, ALTHOUGH CEAUSESCU ET AL VISITED BOTH SZEKLER AND "PURE" HUNGARIAN AREAS, WE SEE NO GOR EFFORT ON THIS TRIP TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THE TWO IN A POLICY OF DIVIDE AND CONQUER (OF BUCHAREST A-28). PERHAPS JUST MAKING DISTINCTION PUBLIC AT THIS HIGH LEVEL IS ENOUGH FOR TIME BEING.
AGGREY

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